

BRITISH Antiquities revived:

OR

A friendly Controversy touching the *sovereignty* of the
King's Prerogative of *Wardship* in ancient times, manag-
ed with certain arguments, whereinto
new *reasons* are applied.

By ROBERT VAUGHAN *Esq.*

Printed and Sold by the Author at the right Honourable the
Secretary of State's Office, in Whitehall, near the
Royal Chapel of St. James's, in the City of London.
By the same Author.

OXFORD

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BRITISH

Amplicities revived;

O-R

A friendly Counsel touching the recovery of the
three Princes of Wales in such times, that a
good with certain arguments, is presented
and applied.

BY ROBERT VAUGHAN ESQ.

To which is added the Preface of the right Honourable the
Lord of CAMBRIDGE, in the year of the War with
A short account of the fourteenth year of CAMBRIDGE
by the same Author.



OXFORD

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Routledge. 1802.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

To the right worshipfull Sr. RICHARD WYNNE
of GWADIE Baronet, and Knight for the County of CARNAR-
VAN in this present Parliament.

SIR,

Had designed this small Treatise (being the first fruit
of my study in Antiquities) for your honoured Father;
but failing of my purpose by reason of his death (which
was untimely to his friends, though not to himself) I
thought I might not (without being highly injurious)
present a thing once devoted to him to any else besides your self, who
as his heir might lay a just claime to it, and also to my most humble ser-
vices; I promise my self you will vouchsafe it a kind entertainment;
since (I know) both your goodnesse and your interest in the subject,
as lineally descended from the Princes of *Northwales* (whose rights
are therein maintained) are more then sufficient to oblige you there-
to. The writing of it was upon this occasion: some Gentlemen of
Southwales being dissatisfied with *Caradoc of Llaneruan's* History of
Wales, published by *Dr. Powel*, in regard that therein the Prince of
Northwales is held forth to be *Soveraigne* over the other two Princes of
Southwales and *Powis*, as being of the elder house, thought fit (in order
to the compiling of a more exact history) to draw up certain argu-
ments for the *soveraignty* of all *Wales* to be in the Prince of *Southwales*,
and to send them also into *Northwales* to see what could be said in an-
swer to them, before any further use should be made of them. They
were delivered by *Sr. Thomas Canon* late of *Pembrokeshire* Kt. to *Sr.*
John Lloyd of the *Inner Temple* Kt. and *Sergeant at Law*, who deliv-
ered them to me above 40 years ago, desiring I would take the pains to
peruse and answer them as well as I was able. At his intreaty I under-
took it, and, as you will find, done somewhat in it, though in a rude
manner, which I hope will be excused in a person, whose only designe
is plainly to set forth the truth, which shews alwaies best in its own
proper colours without the elaborate dresse and varnish of *Rhetorick*.
But some men possibly may object against this undertaking of mine,

The Bible Dictionary

that it was needfull, and that, if it had been to any end, it was his discretion to revive and publish *an old Covenant* long since (as I have said) happily decided. I confesse we have reason to blisse God for his mercy to us in our happy re-establishment, and *our Ministry* was as well lay we were conquered to our gain, and under to our advantage, *perissemus uti perissemus*. But yet it must be granted; that it is no small delight that redounds from the revelling and perusal of *old records*: though *Trerbach* for severall ages hath lived in oblivion, both its glory and government being quite dissolved, though the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, *Thebans*, and other *perish'd Grecian* Estates have long since had their periods, yet we still take a great deale of satisfaction in reading their stories, how they began, grew up, flourished, strove, & decayed. Besides there may be this *good use* made of it; viz. that by reflecting upon our former miseries, and divisions while we contended for *several* *reigns*, we may be induced to put the *greater* value upon our *present* happiness. Thus having given you an account of the works, and what I had to say in its defence, I commend it to your protection: and with my prayers to God for you and your noble *country* remaine. Sir

10. The writing of it was upon this occasion: John Conington of
Stowmarket being distressed with Colic at Lancaster's Bility of
Wales, published by D. Pears, in regard that therein the Prince of
Wales is held forth to be superior over the other two Princes of
the blood, I thought fit to order
Your humble servant at command

to the possibility of a more exacting (to draw up certain strg-
ment for the forwarding of all W's to be in the Prince of Wales
and to land them and into W's to be what could be said in an-
swer to them, before any further should be made of them. They
were delivered by Mr. Thomas (Cousin of Frederick) to 10 St.
John Church of the Tower Temple St. and returned at Law, who de-
livered them to the Prince of Wales.

Hungry May the 9th

1990



The state of the Question.



ODERIC the great, King of Wales, about An-
Dom: 876. did dispose the three Principalities thereof
to three of his sons, viz. *Southwales* to *Cadelb*, who is
maintained in this Treatise to be the Eldest; *North-*
wales to *Anarawd*, who is held by some late writers of
Northwales to be the Eldest; and *Powis* to *Meroyn*,
who is held by some other writers of *Northwales* to be the Eldest;
(which being least probable, as touching *Meroyn*) the Question here
is, Whether *Cadell* or *Anarawd* were the Eldest son of *Roderic the*
great, and which of them had the soveraigne power and rule over all
Wales.

Arguments proving Cadell Prince of Southwales to
be the Eldest Son of Roderic the great, (King of Wales),
and that he, and his issue after him had a superiority over the rest
of the Princes, over his two Brethren, and the Descendants
from them.

The first Argument.

THE principalitie of *Powys* after the death of *Meroyn*, the young-
est Brother, (who died without issue, according to the most cre-
dible writers of the Antiquities of *Wales*) descended to *Cadell*, as the
Eldest brother and Heir, and from him to *Howel Dha* his Son, and so

to *Blodigwalp Conwyn* by due course of inheritance from *Cadell*. And for the opinion that *Mervyn* had a Son named *Llewellyn*, (whose Daughter and Heir was married to *Meredith ap Owen*, third son of *Owen ap Howell Dda*, and great Grandchild to *Cadell*;) and that thereby *Powys* came to the line of *Cadell*, it is fit the authority thereof do appear, before it receive credit. Likewise, whereas some Writers for *North-wales* do alledge, that *Cadell* took *Powys* by force from his brethren after the death of his brother *Mervyn*, it is therefore impliedly confessed, that *Mervyn* had no children: and it is not unlike that he actually entred into and seized *Powys* as his inheritance, and that his brethren might pretend to have portions there by *Gavel-kind* upon the death of their brother *Mervyn*. But could he carry a principality from all the race of *Roderic* (who had diverse sons, besides those three princes) by strong hand, and without right or opposition? whereas it doth not appear throughout the whole course of the histories of *Wales*, that either there was any stirre or claime made by the prince of *Northwales*, or any of the descent of *Roderic* for *Powys*, or any entries made by them into that country, untill after the sovereignty thereof came to the King of *England*, by the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor*, that they made head in those parts as in other parts of *Wales* against the invasion of the *Lords Marchers*, whereas they might have done it most easily, seeing it wholly bordereth on *Northwales*, and is farthest from *Southwales*, and especially being incited and warranted thereunto for recovery of their right. And if a judgment may be made that that which is ill gotten cannot long endure, *Es de male partis certius heres non gaudebit*, then let the long continued descent of diverse parts of *Powys* in the heires of *Cadell*, plead for him that he came justly and lawfully to it: for the Lordship of *Mowthwy* being a part of *Powys* is enjoyed to this day, (by descent from *Cadell*.) And a great part thereof was held (untill of late time) by *Grey Lo. Powys* by like descent, and the rest of the possessions continued long in his posterity and line, untill by partition they were branched into diverse families, whereof a great part is now in the Crown by severall meanes, howbeit the sovereignty remained still in the heires of *Cadell*, as Prince of *Southwales*, which appeareth by their chastising the defections, and taking pledges for the obedience of the *Lords of Powys*, and such testimonies of Sovereignty related by the

the writers of *Northwales*. It is alledged also by some of them, that the possession of Powys was withheld by the heires of *Brochmel Tysghro*, who was Prince thereof about An: Dom. 617. If that were true, then *Cadell* did not take Powys by force from his brethren. But for the truth hereof *Roderic* was lineall heir to *Brochmel Tysghro*, viz. son of *Adwyn Drych*, son of *Nest*, sister and heir of *Cyngen*, son to *Cadell* son to *Brochmel Tysghro*. And thereby *Roderic* had both the Right and Possession of Powys. And therefore untill another Heir be found, or other descents appear from *Brochmel Tysghro* to *Bledhyn ap Conyn*, then by the line of *Roderic the great*, and all the persons by mentioned that held Powys in all that time, other then the line of *Roderic*, the beliefe of this allegation may be well suspended. And thus the way is cleared to conclude upon this first point, that *Cadell* was the Eldest and Sovereigne Prince of *Wales* by the descending of Powys unto him.

Anarawd maintained to be the Eldest Son of *Roderic the great*, and to have the right of Sovereignty over all *Wales*, and so likewise his successors the Princes of *Northwales*.

The Answer to the first Argument.

THE later Prince of Powys held that by inheritance from the third son of *Roderic the great*, as Mr. *Camden* in these words declares: *Powysia principis tertio filio Roderici magni procreati hunc agrum* (viz. *Monmouthshire*) *cum aliis perpetua serie ad Ed: 2: imperatorem venit*. Therefore *Cadell* prince of *Southwales* (out of whose loines the later princes of Powys were descended) must of necessity be the third son of *Roderic the great*, which degree of Birth the whole book of *Herbert*, *Thomas Maylor*, *John Leland*, *Humphrey Llwyd*, *Myles*, and many more both modern and ancient Authors do attribute to *Cadell* by name. And if to avoid that, you will say that *Camden* by *tertio filio* did not mean *Cadell*, then must *Mervyn* be the man, and consequently he must have issue, else the later princes of Powys could not derive themselves from *Roderic*, and if he had issue, then *Cadell* could not have Powys by inheritance, as be-

ing the Eldest of the 3 Brethren; what was got otherwise, is not the thing in question. And truly to deny *Mervyn's* issue were injury in the highest degree offered to diverse Gentlemen of *Wales* descending from him, and in particular to the reverend and learned Judge, Sr. *William Jones* of *Carmarvan* shire Kt. and lately one of the *Justices* of the *Kings bench*, who derives his pedigree lineally from *Triffin* the son of *Mervyn*: and if you doubt whether *Mervyn* had such a son, a very ancient parchment MS. written above 400 years agoe will resolve you, *O Driffin mab Mervyn mab Rodri mawr ydd benyn gwelheish Rhw o Llyn*: that is, the inheritors of *Rhin* in *Llyn* are descended of *Triffin* the son of *Mervyn*, the son of *Roderic the great*. Likewise in a Genealogy of the princes of *Northwales*, *Southwales*, and *Powys* descending from *Roderic the great*, annexed to a Latine copy of the *Lawes of Howell Dha*, we find that *Idwal voel* son to *Anarawd* King of *Northwales* did marry *Avandreg* the daughter of *Mervyn* King of *Powys*, upon whom he begat *Mewric* the Ancestor of *Ebweilyn the great*, prince of *Northwales*. But the ancient and learned *Giraldus Cambrensis* in the relation of the Genealogy of the said *Ebweilyn the great*, hath not only himself fallen into an error, but hath drawn many learned and grave Antiquaries that followed his tract into the same snare, for speaking of this *Avandreg*, he saith she was the Son and not the Daughter of *Mervyn*, (the which *Mervyn* was all Antiquity and truth he calleth prince of *Northwales*), and so ascendeth to *Roderic the great* by the feminine line, making no mention at all of *Idwal voel* the son of *Anarawd* prince of *Northwales* indeed, whom ancient writers term and stile by the name of *Endwallus rex optimus Wallensium*, who also, as is said before, upon this *Avandreg* the daughter (and not the son) of *Mervyn* king of *Powys*, begat the forenamed *Mewric*, the Ancestor of *Llewelyn the great*. But for your better satisfaction of the ground whence *Giraldus* did conceive this error, behold these Rundles following.

(150)

Roderic the great.

Anarawd K. of North-wales.

Merwin K. of Powis.

Idwal Voel K. of N.W.

Avandrec daughter.

Meiric.

Farther more, *Caradoc Llancarvan* a *Southwales* man, who lived about 500 years agoe, saith, that a son of *Merwyn*, named *Harardur*, was drowned *An. 953.* My last witnessse for *Merwyn's* issue will be *George Owen Harry*, another *Southwales* man, who saith, that *Angharad* daughter and heir of *Llewelin* the son of *Merwyn* king of *Powis* was married to *Owein ap Howell abâ* (not to *Mredyn* the said *Owen's* son, as you say,) his testimony, seeing he was an Antiquary of *Southwales*, and a strong maintainer of *Cadell's* Supremacy, ought to move you to believe this point, especially seeing that this marriage is the only title that the said Author ascribeth to the posterity of *Cadell* over *Powis*, which whether it were lawfull, as he is of opinion, or unlawfull, as may be inferred out of the words of the *English History* of the princes of *Cambria*, I leave others to judge: it shall suffice me to prove that the Prince of *Northwales* & not of *Southwales* had the Sovereignty of *Powis*, as doth appear when *Owein* furnished the great prince of *Northwales*, having in his company *Cadwalader ap Gr. ap Conan* his brother, and the Lord *Rice* prince of *Southwales* entred *Powis*, and chasing *Owein Gywiliing* Prince thereof out of the Country, seized upon all his inheritance, and gave *Caerion* to *Owein Vachan* to hold of the prince of *Northwales*, the rest he reserved to himselfe, saving *Dynalwern* a little

William.

piece of *Cymiliog*, which he gave the *Lord Rees*, because (according to the book of *Conwey*) the report went, that it stood within the confines of the said *Rees* his dominions. Hereby it is manifest that the sovereignty of *Powis* did not belong to the prince of *Southwales*; for if it had, questionlesse the *Lord Rees* then present would have chalenged the same as his right by inheritance: and that it did of right appertain to the prince of *Northwales* may farther appear by an ancient *Inquisition* taken at *Bala* before *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, An: 6. Hon: 6. *Totum dominium de Powis tenetur de domino Rege Anglia, ut principe Wallie per servitium Baronum, viz. de serjo de Aberfro: & est in dominio de Powis quoddam aliud seritum vocatum Mathraval, quod simul cum omnibus terris & tenementis eidem certo de Mathraval junctis & annexatis tenet de domino rege ut principe Wallie per servitium predictum in capite & de jure teneri debet us de certo de Aberfro predicto.* An other *Inquisition* found likewise at *Bala* in the 48th year of *Ed: 3.* saith that, *Dominium de Powis integrè tenebatur de principibus Wallie in capite, viz. de certo de Aberffraw. Et est in dominio de Powis quoddam aliud seritum vocatum Mathraval, quod simul cum omnibus terris & tenementis eidem certo junctis & annexatis tenetur, & ad hoc de jure teneri debentur de certo de Aberffraw.* And last of All, I must put you in mind, what *Cadell* king of *Powis*, Father of *Nisi*, Grandmother to *Roderic* the great, was the son of *Elissau*, and not of *Brochmel* *Istythroc*, for *Brochmel*, as you say, was King of *Powis* An: 17. and this *Cadell* whom you will have to be his Son, died An: 809: as *Camdean* of *Lamberton* affirmeth, so alien, that one, or yet both of them should reigne very near 1000 yeeres is almost impossible, and altogether untrue: for according to the ancient histories of *Wales*, *Cadell* was the son of *Elissau*, the son of *Gyallan*, the son of *Belisile*, son of *Maelmyrian*, the son of *Selyf* or *Salmorian*, the son of *Gyfas*, the son of *Brachmel*, *Istythroc* King of *Powis*, and Earle of *Glosters*. Thus you see your first Argument and reason for *Cadell's* Seniority and sovereignty quite overthrow. Fifth, by the testimony of *Camdean* declaring that the latter princes of *Powis* (the issue of *Cadell*) were descended from the third son of *Roderic* the great, which degreded of birth the *Aberfro* above mentioned ascribe unto *Cadell* by name: secondly by an undoubted proof of *Moray's* issue: and lastly, by the sovereignty over *Powis* proved to be in the prince of *Northwales*, all which infallibly

infally conclude them to be descended from the eldest son of *Roderic the great*.

The second Argument sheweth, that *Cadell's* portion was far larger than any of the two other, almost double in quantity, containing 38. Cantreds, and 80. Commots, whereas both *Northwales* and *Powys* contained but 29. Cantreds and 78. Commots: and yet the *Caused* of *Brulht*, and the *forrest* of *Dean* are admitted in that division to be in *Powys*, which were part of *Southwales*, and assigned to *Cadell*. *Southwales* also was the far better Soile generally, and most replenished with Noble men and Gentry: Therefore it was the fittest portion to be assigned to the Eldest and Sovereigne, and unfit for a younger brother upon evident ground of reason.

The Answer to the second Argument is, that

TO find out the true proportion of *Cadell's* inheritance, your Countryman *fr. Alfred Meneux*, that lived in *Cadell's* time will with most approved Authority direct us: *Illo enim tempore & multis ante omnes regiones dextralis Britannia parsis, ad Edfred regem pertinebant, & adhuc pertinent. Hemeid scilicet, cum omnibus habitatoribus Deinetica regionis, & sex filiorum Rotri vi compulsi regali se subdiderat imperio, Hovil quoque filius Roti rex Glegnising & Brochmail atque Fernail filii Mercie, reges Gwent vi & tyrannide Eudred canis: & Merciorum canipulsi suapte eundem expectivere regem, ut dominium & defensionem ab eo pro inimicis suis haberent. Helised quoque filius Tedyr, rex Brachonie eorundem filiorum Rotri vi coactus, dominium regis prefati suapte regnificis.* Hereby it appears that *Dyred* (now called *Pembroke*shire) *Brachnock*, *Gwent* and *Glegnising*, had their severall Kings in *Cadell's* time, so that of a certainty his portion cannot exceed the two counties of *Cardigan* and *Carmarthen* of old called the Kingdome of *Cardigan*, which countrey being then the possession and Kingdome of *Cadell*, who was not yet in league with King *Alfred*, *Alfred* mentioneth not. And *Rees* up *Theobor* (the most powerfull prince as you say, since *Roderic the great's* time) had no more in his possession then those two counties,

as *Sr. Edward Stradling* in the conquest of *Glamorgan* makes good; all which containing scarce 12. Cantreds may seem far inferior in quantity to *Northwales*, which in the daies of *Howell Dda* contained 18. Cantreds, as *Morgench ynad* and *Kysnerth* his son do averre in their *book of British Lawes*. Neither will it avails you though you proved that *Cadell's* sovereignty as chief prince of *Southwales* did extend to all the inferior princes within *Southwales*, for so likewise did the sovereignty of *Anarawd* conclude *Cadell* and all *Wales* in generall, as owing homage to him the first of their line, by the ordinance of *Roderic the great* mentioned in the *Description of Cambria*, by *Sr. Jo: Price*, and confirmed also by the *lawes of Howell Dda*. Farther, I stand not so much upon the Fertility of *Northwales* as upon the Situation and naturall strength thereof against all invasions, being therefore most fit and requisite for a sovereign prince in a troubled time, though well I might call the *Isle Land* country of *Northwales* wherein the vallie of *Clwyd* stretcheth it self 18. miles in length, and sometimes 4. 5. 6. and 7. in breadth, to witnesse against you. *Vallis hac* (saith *Mr. Camden*) *à salubritate, fertilitate, & amantitate verè felix; incolarum color est sanus, capitis firma sinceritas, inoffensum oculorum lumen, & amosa admodum senectus. Ipsa verè virentibus pratis, flaventibus arvis, creberrimis villis, & truncis spectantium oculis mirum in modum aridet.* And also the *Ile of Anglesea* and the vast *Snowdon hills* (that feed so many thousands of Cattell yearly to *England*, and no small number to *Westwales*) lest affection might over-rule me *Giraldus* your countryman, whose testimony you cannot except against, shall speak for me: *Est autem hac insula præ cunctis Cambria finibus triticeo germine incomparabiliter fecunda, adè ut proverbialiter dici soleat lingua Britannicâ Môn Mam Gynry, quod latinè sonat, Mona mater Cambria, quoniam atis undique terris deficientibus, hac sola gleba prapinguè ubique frugum proventus Cambriam totam sustentare consuevit.* And in another place, *Tantactiam & tam immensa quantitas esse perhibentur montes Eryri* (that is *Snowdon hills*) *ut antiquo proverbio dici soleat sicut Monam insulam hominibus in annona, sic Eryri in pascuis coactis in unum armentis omnibus totius Wallie sufficere posse.* Then if you look to the situation thereof, which you should have done, together with these comparisons you shall find it to be farthest from the *English*, a matter of great consequence in those daies,

daies, and which is more, it was and yet is the strongest countrey absolutely within the *Ist: of Britaine*: contrarily, *Southwales* is very weak in situation, and therefore open for the invasion of all Strangers; but more especially of the *Saxons*, that bordered even on the neck thereof. And yet it had another inconvenience worse then all the rest, by reason whereof it was reputed even in those dayes to be far worse then *Northwales*, though it were greater in quantity, and that is this: *Southwallia* (saith Giraldus) *quantum quantitate longè major, propter nobiles tamen qui vchelyr quasi superiores viri vocantur, quibus abundabat, qui & dominis rebelles esse solebant, & minime ferro detrectabant, deterior esse videbatur.* Is it likely then that Roderic the great would prefer his Eldest son and soveraigne prince of the *Britaines* to a Kingdome that did not only want naturall fortification, but had also the unhappinesse of having inhabitants, whose condition and priviledges disposed them to Rebellion. But if our opinions in this case be conceived not authentick, as proceeding from prejudice, Mr. Camden an indifferent person may be thought fit to decide the controversie. And to say no more to this Argument, let your own Countryman Giraldus his forementioned *Incomparabiliter* prevaile upon you to be of another judgement.

The third Argument:

THat *Howel Dha* the eldest son of *Cadelb*, and succeeding him prince of *Southwales*, did command the *Archbishop of St. Davids*, and all the *Bishops of Wales*, and chiefest of the *Clergy* to the number of 140. and all the *Barons* and *Nobility of Wales*, and six of the most wise and best esteemed in every *Commot of Wales* for the Commonalty, to assemble at his pallace called *Tu gwyn ar Tas* in *Dyfed* in *Southwales*, where with great solemnity he did ordain the *Lawes* whereby *Northwales* and *Powis*, and all the people throughout the whole dominion of *Wales* were governed and ordered, untill after the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor*, that King *Henry the first* did plant the *common law* of *England*, first in the counties of *Glamorgan*, and *Pembrok*, (which were conquered and made Counties from that time,) and that the *Lords Marchers* as they won into *Wales* did settle a forme of Justice mixt of the *common law* and of the *lawes of Howel Dha*, yet so tempered as

justly may be said) with regal jurisdiction permitted for the time by the King of England, that in the end it became as intolerable to the Crown, as to the people, which *lawes of Howel Dda* were nevertheless entirely executed within so much of the principality of *Northwales* as continued in the four ancient counties there, viz. *Anglesey, Carnarvan, Merioneth, and Flint*, and in the counties of *Carmarthen and Cardigan* in *Southwales*, untill the subduing of *Llewelyn ap Griffith* the last prince of *Northwales*, that King Edward the first ordained the statute of *Ruthlan* for justice to be done in these six last recited counties (wherein all the principality of *Wales* then remained,) howbeit many of the lawes of *Howel Dda* continued in force as well in those countries, as in the *Lordships marchers* untill the Statute of *Wales* in 27. H. 8. even as some few do continue to this day under the title of Customes. Upon all which it is also concluded, that to give or ordain lawes, and with these muniments of Authority, provech without question a Sovereignty.

The Answer.

HOWEL Dda prince of *Southwales* by reason of the incapacity (as you say in your 5th. Argument) of the Heir apparent of *Northwales*, took upon him the rule and government of all *Wales*. Which being true, it is not to be marvelled at, if he commanded the clergy and nobility of all *Wales* to assemble before him, that by their counsell and advice he might reforme the ancient lawes of the *Brittaines* nor yet if the succeeding princes of *Northwales*, finding those lawes good, wholesome, and confirmed by the Sea Apostolick, and also such as did not abrogate but confirme their Sovereignty over all *Wales*, embraced them, and commanded their subjects to obey them duly, considering that his said Authority was grounded upon his regency over *Northwales*, and the Heir thereof, as manifestly appears when *Howel Dda* in his said lawes saith, that *verbum regis Aberffraw est verbum super omnes reges Wallie, & nullius verbum est super ipsum*. So that whereas you would derive a Sovereignty to *Howel Dda* from his power in making lawes, you should first have suppressed or burnt all the Copies of the lawes of *Howel Dda*, which give to the King of *Northwales* an absolute Sovereignty over all *Wales*.

The fourth Argument.

That the *Bishops of Northwales* were created and consecrated in *Southwales* by the *Archbishop of St. Davids*; that they were his *Suffragans*, and subject to his *See*. And therefore *Roderic* in the division, did aptly dispose the sovereign jurisdiction temporall in the territory where the sovereign jurisdiction spirituall was seated, which otherwise had been absurd, and would undoubtedly have bred great troubles.

The Answer.

IN regard the Sovereignty of the *Eldest son of Roderic* extended over all *Wales*, it is not materiall in what part thereof the Ecclesiastical supremacy be seated: for be it in the territory of the third or second brother, it cannot prejudice the *Eldest* that is Sovereign over all. Your Argument, did I hold it firme, would perswade with me to make *Edistan* the youngest son of *Egbert* to have a sovereignty over his eldest brother *Erhelwolp*, as being King of *Kent*, wherein is seated *Cantebury*, the chiefeest *See* for spirituall jurisdiction: or well might I gather that the king of *Dyved*, in whose Kingdome *St. Davids* lay, was superior to *Cadell* and his successors, by reason of his good neighbourhood with the *Archbishop*.

The fifth Argument.

That the prince of *Southwales* did seize the principality of *Northwales*, and removed the princes thereof upon occasion, or offence committed, as the said *Howel Dda* did seize the same; partly by the incapacity of *Idneric* son of *Edwal*, only to govern and to stop the usurpation of others (upon that pretence) whereby to preserve the general peace of *Wales*: and partly by force, for spoile that had been done by the prince of *Northwales* upon his countries of *Cardigan* and *Affledwyn*. This prince *Howel*, as the writers of *Northwales* do record, was of a goodly behaviour, just and discrete in his government, and beloved of men, wherefore he obtained the attribute of *Dda*, which is

in English (the good,) whereby it is to be concluded probably, that his coming to the principality of *Wales* was upon just and lawfull grounds. Likewise *Owen ap Howel* Dda his son prince of *Southwales*, did seize *Northwales* out of the hands of *Cadwallo ap Iechaf* for usurpation and tyranny, and made *Mredib* his third son Prince there, which, if it had been the soveraign seat, he would not have permitted his younger son to enjoy it, and to become thereby his superiour. And in this point the writers of *Northwales* do obscure the truth with some art by concealing this to be done by the power of the father (*prince of Southwales*;) and attributing the same wholly to the power of a third son, whereas it is evident, that he had neither force nor authority to perform it, but as his fathers minister and subject, whom his father thought good to honour with the fruit of his valour and victory, being atcheived *propria manu not proprio Marte*, more then the conquests of the famous prince *Edward*, called the black prince, whose everlasting honours they are, but the possessory right of them was to his fathers crown. And it is to be observed, that as the division of *Wales* by *Roderic the great* did give the ground of the subduing thereof to the crown of *England*, so it bred these preparatives therunto, first the continuall usurpation of the Descendants of *Anarawd* upon his lawfull heirs, Incomuch as for 200. yeares after the division, five of that line did intermissively usurp the government of *Northwales*, and only two lawfull princes ruled there, and those not past 12 yeares, if they be allowed to be the issue of *Anarawd*, which some writers of *Northwales* do gainsay: in which licentious times one *Aeden ap Blegored*, a meer private man, neither of the bloud of the Prince, nor of the Nobility, that any antiquity doth record, intruded into the government, and held it 12. yeares, untill he was expelled by the prince of *Southwales*. Secondly it gave the *Danes* and *Engliss* opportunity to invade and weaken all the parts of *Wales*, (who were often called in by the usurpers of *Northwales* to joyn with them against the prince of *Southwales*;) By those occasions the prince of *Southwales* as supreme lord of *Wales*, & for the generall quiet & preservation thereof, did seize & assume into their hands the government of *Northwales*, wherein six of them ruled the said 200. yeares, which had not they done, the government in all likelihood had been in that time translated from the race of

Roderic

Roderic the Great. But in the end of those 200 yeares, *Rees ap Iorwerth* prince of *Southwales* with great valour and wisdom did overcome all these long grown evils, and being the most powerfull prince that was since *Roderic the Great*, and lineall heire to *Cadell*, expelled *Trabern ap Caradoc* the last usurper of *Northwales*, and placed *Griffith ap Conan* (who was held to be the lawfull prince of the house of *Anarawd*) in the quiet and settled possession thereof: which honourable dealing was very ill requited by *Griffith ap Conan* towards the son of *Rees ap Iorwerth* in his distresse, as shall be after declared. By all which may appear the generall care of the princes of *Southwales* over the whole dominion of *Wales* derived from their supreme power, authority, and jurisdiction. For confirmation hereof, it is further to be observed, that since the said division, no prince of *Northwales* did ever rule in *Southwales*, or by any occasion did make claime to the principality thereof: and therefore upon this disposing of the principality of *Northwales* by the princes of *Southwales*; it is further concluded, that the princes of *Southwales* were the soveraign princes of *Wales*.

It is recorded by *Caradocus*, that *Anarawd* King of *Northwales* made a road into the country of *Cardigan & Iffradwyn*, the possession of his brother *Cadelb*, but being that the Anchor alleageth not the cause inherent, as whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, it might with better reason be said, that it was made from the defect of Payment of the Tribute due to the crown of *Aberisraw* from *Southwales*; then such a Rebellion, as thereby forfeiture of Royalty should ensue: and considering also that no chastisement was executed by *Cadelb* or *Howel Dha* his son upon *Anarawd*, who lived long after, it may seem great rigor and tyranny in him, and much to derogate from his title of *Dha*, that is, the good, if he did deprive *Idwal*'s son of his inheritance, for the offence of *Anarawd* his grandfather, committed many yeares before his birth, not upon the countries of *Howel*, as you say, but of *Cadelb* his father. Therefore if you hold his coming to *Northwales* to be upon good and lawfull grounds, it will be your best course (rejecting offences and forfeitures) wholly to stick to the incapacity of the heir of *Northwales*, by reason

whereof *Huwel's* coming to *Northwales*, whether it were as being next of blood, able, and worthy to undertake such a charge, or by the appointment of his cousin *Llwal*, foreseeing perhaps the weaknesse of his son, or else by the election of the people, was good, just, and lawfull. And in regard of his said regency over the house of *Northwales*, and the right thereunto belonging, I do confesse that he was the sovereign prince of all *Wales*. But considering, that after his death the other sons of *Llwal Foch*, and their successors the princes of *Northwales* recovered and held (as I said before) as well the sovereignty of all *Wales*, as the rule of *Northwales*, it plainly appears, that the right of sovereignty belonged not to *Southwales*. Moreover *Owen* the son of *Huwel* was never ruler of *Northwales*, nor had any action against *Cadwallo* ap *Ieuan*, whereby to deprive him of his Crown and Kingdome, as you say, neither is it likely, if he had so conquered him, that he would preferre his youngest son to the Government of that Kingdome, left by exalting the younger brother to honours and dignities above the elder, discord and sedition might breed between them: and in a word, your own countryman *Caradoc*, that lived about 250 years after this time, attributeth the overthrow of *Cadwallo* ap *Ieuan* and conquest of *Northwales* to the only power of *Mredith* ap *Owen* (who then in his Mothers right did rule all *Powys* land, whereby his power to undertake that voyage may plainly appear) in these words. *Mredith* ap *Owen* a lathaw dh Cadwallawn ap Ieuan derwy fuddugol iach a chaffael moddides ni gwyneth sef gwyneth a *Medon* a dderjffingawr dddawr that is, *Mredith* ap *Owen* slew *Cad*: ap *Ieuan* in battell, and seized on his dominions, for *Northwales* and the Isle of *Anglesey* submitted to him. Here is no mention had of *Owen* or his power, and therefore our writers of *Northwales* being only Interpreters of your *Caradoc*, are free from that scandalous imputation that you charge them with. And *Llewelyn* ap *Scissyll* prince of *Siathwallis*, who overcame *Edno* ap *Blegowrd* did not challenge the regency of *Northwales*, (for *Jago* the son of *Llwal* the lawfull heir, as is thought, was not as yet in full age) as appertaining any way to the crown of *Southwales*, as you could wish it, but as he was next heir of blood unto the said *Jago*, for as *Caradoc* saith, he was descended from the kings of *Wales* by the mother side, whose name was *Tranf*, the daughter and heir of *Rhysan*, the second son of *Arian*

Howel the eldest son of *Roderic the great*, and by that means according to the same Author he claimed and enjoyed the right of *Northwales*; therefore his coming to the rule of that Kindome doth not at all favour or confirme your Argument. And here I do greatly marvel who those six Kings of *Southwales* were, that (as you say) assumed to their hands the government of *Northwales*, for *Mredyth ap Owen* was neither king nor heir apparent of *Southwales*, when he conquered *Northwales*; and *Howel ap Edwyn* was King of *Southwales* when *Griffith ap Llewelyn* undertook the rule of *Northwales*; and in like manner *Mredyth ap Owen ap Edwyn* governed *Southwales*, when *Bledhyn ap Cysyn* received the principality of *Northwales* at the hands of the king of *England*, doing homage for the same, whereby it is evident that these three princes were not of the six that you mention, and *Howel Dda* with *Llewelyn ap Seisyll* though they were most worthy and noble princes, yet cannot exceed the number of two, therefore the number of six must needs be a mistake. It is also to be observed that these princes *Mredyth*, *Griffith*, *Bledhyn*, and *Truhayarn ap Caradoc*, after they had settled themselves in the sure and quiet possession of *Northwales*, seized to their hands the Kingdome of *Southwales*, and held the same either by strong hand and usurpation, or by state of inheritance, or else in the right of Sovereignty over all *Wales* that belonged to the crown of *Northwales*. Usurpers they were not, if it be true, that as you say (in the end of your Treatise) *Southwales* did never stile of a lawfull Prince to govern it, till the period thereof by the fatal overthrow of prince *Rees ap Theodor*: lawfull heirs also to *Cadell* they cannot be, for the posterity of *Enion* the son of *Owen* king of *Southwales*, and eldest brother to the said *Mredyth* were living, and therefore they could not challenge *Southwales* by inheritance; it remains then of necessity that their title to *Southwales* was grounded on the sovereignty that belonged to the king of *Northwales* whereof they were princes. But howsoever the matter went, it is certain that they were kings of *Northwales*, and being so, they took into their hands the regiment of *Southwales*, whereby I do conclude it was a grosse error in you, when you say, that no prince of *Northwales* did ever rule in *Southwales*, or by any occasion did claime the principality thereof: seeing the examples of four princes must cause you to confesse either your ignorance or partiall censure. Lastly, you say that *Rees ap*

Theodor,

Theodor prince of *Southwales* with great valor and wisdom did expell *Trabern ap Caradoc* the last usurper of *Northwales*, and placed *Griff ap Conan* in the quiet possession thereof: but antiquity & the truth will informe us otherwise, for in the life of *Griff ap Conan* we may read, that when the said *Griffith* with his navy landed at *Portclein* neer *St. Davids*, your powerfull prince *Rees* had been a little before deprived of his Kingdome by *Trabayarn* king of *Northwales*, and others, and for safegard of his life had covertly taken Sanctuary at *St. Davids*: but hearing of *Griffith's* approach, he came with the *Bishop* and all the clergy of that house to meet him, where *Rees* fell upon his knees before *Griffith*, and acquainting him with his ill fortunes, desired his help and aid to fight with those his adversaries, promising to do him homage, and to reward him with the moiety of his Revenues: and *Griff* pitying his estate yeelded to his request, and having overthrowen in battell his enemies, he installed *Rees* in the quiet possession of *Southwales*, entred and destroyed *Powys* with fire and sword, and recovered the Kingdome of *Northwales* his due inheritance: here withall I find an entry made to *Powys* by a prince of *Northwales* before the fatall overthrow of *Rees ap Theodor*, which you deny in your first Argument.

The sixth Argument.

THAT the kings of *England* did ground their title to the principality and sovereignty of *Wales* upon the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor* prince of *Wales* in the reign of *Rufus*, and not upon the subduing of *Llewelyn ap Griffin* in the reign of *Edward the first*, as the writers of *Northwales* do alledge: for from the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor* all the withstanding of the power of the kings of *England* in *Wales* was termed by them Rebellion and Treason, which before alwaies had the name of War. And thenceforth the Kings of *England* did give Seigniories and possessions in *Wales* to their *English* subjects, and so the *Lords Marchers* began: and thenceforth were the strong Castles, and Forts erected, and Garrisons planted in all parts of *Wales*, wherein either the Kings of *England*, or the *Lords Marchers* did set footing, which grounded in the Kings of *England* a resolution to prosecute and accomplish the absolute conquest of *Wales*. And thereby the bishoprick of *St. Davids*

And by that *see* all the rest of the *Bishopricks* of *Wales* were brought under the jurisdiction of *Canterbury*. And thereupon *Griff. ap Conan*, and the rest of the princes of *Northwales* succeeding, yielded to the kings of *England* submission for that principality, and to hold the same of the crown of *England*, and gave them pledges to abide in their peace. And the kings of *England* were stayed from the absolute conquest of *Northwales*, chiefly by their unsettled state in *England*, being full of troubles, especially by the *French* and *Barons* wars, which were no sooner ended, but that King *Henry* the third, and his son *Edward*. I. took *Northwales* from *Lhwelyn* the last, yet adding thereby no more to his former possession of the principality of *Wales* (as the statute of *Rutlan* doth shew) but *terram de Snowdon*, and accounting *Lhwelyn* not an Enemy, but a *Rebell*, as appeared by fixing his head on the highest turret of the Tower of *London*, and executing his brother *David* for Treason, whereas the *English* did deliver the slain body of *Rees ap Theodor* to a decent and honourable buriall in the Abbey of *Tsfraffwr*.

The Answer.

Although the Kings of *England* after the overthrow of *Rees ap Theodor* did terme the withstanding of their power in *Wales* rebellion and Treason, it cannot be conceived that should be a sufficient ground for their title to the principality of *Wales*: for what are those termes, but the hard censure of their utter and alwaies professed enemies in their greatest anger and indignation, peradventure after some shamefull overthrow and losse received, and therefore not much to be regarded. But it cannot be granted they gave such names to those wars, for the wars between King *John* (with his Successors the Kings of *England*) and *Lhwelyn* the great, *David* his son, *Owen Goch* and *Lhwelyn ap Griffith*, Princes of *Wales*, are alwaies termed *Guerra*, as it appears in the submissions of *David ap Lhwelyn*, An: 1240. & 1241. of *Owen Goch* and *Lhwelyn*, An: the adward of *Ottobonus* the Pope's Legate, An: 1268. and the agreement between *Edward* the first, and the said *Lhwelyn* prince of *Wales*, An: 1277. do likewise call those wars *Guerra*, which doth not in any Author signifie *Rebellion*, as must needs be acknowledged. Now that the kings of *England* thenceforth

did give *Seignories* and possessions in *Wales* to their Subjects, who did erect strong Forts, and Castles therein, it is confessed, as touching some part of the inheritance of *Rees ap Theodor*; and it is also true, that before and after the death of *Rees ap Theodor*, the Kings of England did vex and molest *Griff. ap Conan* (as the Author of his Life averreth) and his successors the *princes of Wales*, sometimes by craft and deceit, and sometimes with unjust wars, insomuch that to purchase their peace and quietnesse, and not otherwise, the princes were often content to yeild up unto the Kings of England four *Centreds*. This with other hard dealings hath been noted by diverse writers, and *Henry the second* did not stick to confesse the same; when he said, as *Giraldus* affirmeth, *Per vires nostras magnas injuriam & violentiam irrogemus Cambrijs*, to which force and violence, and not to any new sovereignty gotten by the overthrow of *Rees ap Theodor* must be attributed what submission or acknowledgment of sovereignty, that *Griff. ap Conan* and his successors the *princes of Wales*, did to the kings of England, if any was demanded or performed over and above the wonted and usuall. It is also manifest, that the *Archbishop of Canterbury* did obtain a supremacy over the *Bishops of Wales* shortly after the overthrow of *Rees ap Theodor*, yet not by reason of this said overthrow, but of the suggestion of false witnessses before Pope *Engenius* in the *Remenian Council*, whose *Apostolicall decrees* all the churches in Europe obey'd in those dayes. Moreover you urge out of the statute of *Rowlan* that king *Edward 1.* added no more to his former possessions of the principality of *Wales* by the conquest of *Leoline*, but only *Terram de Snowden*, whereas it doth not so appear in any copy of the said statute that ever I could find, and yet I have seen diverse in *Wales* anciently written on parchment, both in the *Latine* and *Britishe* tongues. As concerning the dishonour done to the prince after his death, by fixing his head on the highest turret of the Tower of *London*, Examples of this kind of dealing with *Princes* we have frequent in histories: *Tigranes* King of the *Armenians*, who lived under *Tiberius Caesar*, could not with all his kingly titles, as *Tacitus* sayth, escape the common death of a *Romane*. *Tacitus* speaks also in the 2d. book of his *Annals*, of *Artavasdes* King of *Armenia*, whom *Antonius* having by treachery got into his power, loaded with chains, and afterwards put to death. *Cyrus* that great monarch of the *Persians* who

who being overthrown and slain by *Tomyris* queen of the *Scythians*, had his head cut off, and in great contempt and derision flung into a vessell full of of man's blood. *Ptolomy Ceraunus* King of *Macedon* was in battell vanquished and slaine by *Belius* (a *Brittain* as some are of opinion) who caused his head to be cut off, and carried before him on the point of a spear round about the field in token of victory and triumph. There be many the like examples in histories of Kings and Emperors, whose bodies have been courselly handled by their enemies, who *de facto* use them so, as being in their power, though *de jure* they ought not to deale so with lawfull princes. And here I may not passe over how that the *Abby* of *Ystratflur*, where you say that the body of *Rees ap Theodor* was decently buried, was not founded before the dayes of the *Lo: Rees ap Griff. ap Rees ap Theodor* Prince of *Sauthwales*, as appeares by his Charter made preiently after the foundation. *Ego Rhesus Southwallie proprietas princeps venerabile Monasterium vocabulo Stradflur edificare cepi, & edificatum dilexi & feci, res ejus auxi, & possessiones in quantum suffragante Deo volui, amplam & omnem donationem quam eidem monasterio antea contuli, Anno iterum ab Incarnatione Domini, 1184. scilicet presentis scripti memoriâ stabilivi, cres etiam filii scilicet Grass. Rhesus, & Meredith eandem donationem eodem tempore & loco in manu Abbatis de Stradflur obtulerunt.* And in the year of our Lord 1164. (just 20. years before the date of the former charter,) as witnesseth the book of *Convey*, it was first convented: *Rees ap Theodor* was slain Anno 1091. whereby it appeares that your *Abby* was not founded 73. years after his death. It remains now that I speak somewhat of the true and undoubted conquest of *Wales* atchieved by *Edw.* as it appeares by the power that he assumed over all the inhabitants of *Wales*, after the fatall overthrow of *Leoline* the last prince of the *British* blood; for of all the Kings of *England* he was the first that altered the forme of Government in *Wales*, he was the first that made the statute of *Rashlan* as a Law to govern the people of that countrey by, he also creased *Edw.* of *Carnarvan* his eldest son prince of *Wales*, who according to *Mr. Camden*, and diverse more ancient writers, erat primus ex Anglico sanguine Wallie princeps. Hereby it appears that *W. Rufus* was not the conqueror of *Wales*, nor *Rees ap Theodor* the sovereign prince of *Wales*, for if *Rees* had been the superior Prince, King *W. Rufus*

fu, having learned of his Father the lesson of a Conqueror, would in no case have omitted to accomplish those rites of a Conqueror. Neither did the *kings* of England challenge the principality of Wales by the conquest of *W. Rufus*, but by the achievement of *Ed. 1.* as it appears first of all by the words of the *statute* of *Ruthlan*: *Divina providentia* (saith *Ed. 1.*) *qua in sui dispositione non fallitur, inter alia sua dispensationis munera, quibus nos & regnum nostrum Anglia decorari dignata est, terram Wallia cum incolis suis prius nobis jure feudali subjectam jam sui gratia in proprietatis nostra dominium obstraculis quibuscunque cessantibus totaliter & cum integritate convertit, & eterna regni predicti tanquam partem corporis ejusdem annexis & univit.* Henry the fourth gives the title of Conqueror of Wales to *Ed. 1.* in his lawes against the Welshmen, made *An. 2. H. 4.* thus, *Nulle Galles ait chafel, fortresse ne maison defensiva de son propre, ne de autre agardre, autrement que nescoit uscz en temps le Roy Ed. conquerer de Gales:* that is, No Welshman shall have castle, fortresse, nor house defensive of his own, nor of other to keep, otherwise then was used in the time of king Edward Conqueror of Wales. The title of those Petitions made at *Kenymen* do averre the same: *Peticones de Kenymen facta apud Kenyton per homines Northwallia tam pro communicacionibus comitatuum quam pro singularibus personis exhibite domino principi filio regis Ed. conquestoris Wallia, Anno regni predicti Ed. 33.* And *John de Delver* in the 8. year of *Ed. 3.* layes open the King's title to the principality of Wales in these words: *Terra Wallia est terra conquesta & conquesta fuit per dominum Edmardum nuper regem Anglia prout dominus principis nunc per quem conquestum tota terra tam de dominio quam in servitio injuncta fuit & annexa corona Anglia.*

The seventh Argument.

After this conquest of Wales by the overthrow of *Uther ap Theodor*, and the expulsion of his son *Griff. ap Rees*, who was forced to fly to Ireland, *Griff. ap Conan* being then prince of Northwales, and of greatest power of any prince there, sithence the said division, never stirred for the principality of Southwales, which if he had been the supreme Prince of Wales, by this occasion he should most properly and justly

justly have done, neither did any of the Princes of *Northwales* succeeding him to the last prince *Llewelyn ap Griffith* make claime therunto: Albeit they were all of them, one after the other, the most powerfull, worthy, & fortunate Princes that had ruled in *Northwales* since the division, as *Owë Gwyneth*, *David ap Owen*, *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, *David ap Llewelyn*, and that they had the advantage in their times of the alteration of seven Kings of *England*, & a troubled state there to have attempted it. But *Griff: ap Rees* returning from *Ireland* (to recover his patrimony) in the weaknesse of his fortunes retired to *Griff: ap Conan* then prince of *Northwales*, whose daughter he had married, & had by her worthy sons. Of whose return & purpose *Henry* the first King then of *England* understanding, knowing him to be the undoubted heir of *Wales*, and that he would be received by the people, sent for the prince of *Northwales*, and drew him in, to yeild to the delivery of *Griff: ap Rees* into his hands, which the Prince attempted, and had effected accordingly, but that *Griff: ap Rees* (upon some notice thereof) hardly escaped into the Sanctuary of *Aberdaron*, whence the prince would have forced him, but that he was rescued by the whole clergy of the countrey, and thence conveyed to *Southwales*, whereupon it is evident, that if *Griff: ap Conan* had been sovereign prince of *Wales* (*de jure*) first no necessity compelling him, he would not have been so undiscreeet as to have put himselfe into the King of *England's* hands (who claimed the sovereignty thereof,) neither would the King have suffered him to depart, seeing by detaining him he might more easily have compassed his end. Secondly, the Prince of *Northwales* would not have been so injurious to himselfe, as to have delivered *Griffith ap Rees* (if he had been his homager of *Southwales*) whereby to divest himself of his right thereunto by his own act. But it is plaine that the prince of *Northwales* in respect of the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor*, having submitted himself to the King of *England* (as his homager,) and to his peace, came to the king at his sending for him, knowing well that the King was carelesse of him as touching the right of Sovereignty of *Wales*. And so he yeilded (to make his peace the firmer with the King) to the betraying of his Superior, of his guest and son in law, and the son of him who got him the possession of the principality of *Northwales*. Hereupon *Griff: ap Rees* put himselfe in armes, and so held himself during King *Henries*

time, and a part of King *Stephen*, recovering a great part of *Southwales*, and died, leaving his troubles and possessions to his son, called the *Lord Rees*, who in the end made peace with king *Henry the second*, and surrendered to him his title to the principality of *Wales*, bringing the chiefest of the Nobility and Gentry of *Southwales* to *Glocester*, where they submitted themselves to the King, and received their lands and possessions by the Kings grant, to hold of him. And the *Lord Rees* accepted of the King to be his *Iustice of Southwales*, which office continued untill 27. of King *Henry the 8.* and ended in the *Lord Ferrers of Charsley*.

The Answer.

FOR Answer hereunto, you must first conceive that *Griffith ap Conan* at the time of *Rees ap Theodor's* death, was not so powerfull as you make him to be: for as we read in the Author of his life, he was then but newly escaped out of the *Earl of Chester's* prison, where he had remained 12. years. Secondly, that notwithstanding his unsettled state in *Northwales* (by reason of his said imprisonment,) and the King of *Englands* displeasure conceived against him, he joyned forces with *Cadwgan ap Bleddyn* his son in law, and entering *Southwales*, after they had slaine in battell a great number of *Normans*, a great part thereof though not all became subject to *Cadwgan*, as the *British* history of the Princes relateth: wherein also we find, that afterwards *Griff: ap Conan* sent his sons *Owen* and *Cadwalladr* twice to *Southwales*, being one time accompanied with 6000 Footmen, and 2000 Horsemen, they took the Castles of *Walter Esper*, and *Richard de la Mare*, and also the Castles of *Aberystwyth*, *Dinerth*, and *Caerweddor*, subduing the whole countrey to the town of *Cardigan*; and after the slaughter of 3000 *Normans* in the field, they chased the rest out of the Countrey, restoring *Griffith ap Rees* to his father's inheritance, and the ancient inhabitants to their former dwellings. Which is sufficient evidence that they made claime to *Southwales* as soveraign Princes. And *Griffith ap Conan* cannot be imagined to interest himselfe in the cause, (especially in his weaknesse) by sending his subjects to the field, but that he challenged the soveraignty thereof as due by inheritance, and his son *Owen Gwynedd* prince of *Northwales* would not have entered *Southwales*, in the first year of

his reign, as the Chronicle witnesseth, overthrowing the Castles of *Istratmenric*, *Stephens*, and *Humphreys*, and burning the town of *Carmarthen*, and compelling part of *Dyved* to pay tribute unto him, (as *Gwalchmai ap Meilir* that lived in that age hath recorded) retaining most of *Cardigan* in his own hands, without claime or pretence of title. Likewise when *Henry 2.* King of *England* made his third Expedition against *Wales*, the *Lord Rees* and the power of *Southwales*, and all the other Lords of *Wales* with their forces marched against the King under the conduct of the Prince of *Northwales*, which directly proveth his sovereignty over all *Wales*. After these tumults and turmoils, *Lhwelyn ap Iorwerth* Prince of *Northwales*, to prevent all doubt that might arise concerning his right, made all *Southwales* and *Powis* swear fealty unto him, as the book of *Conwey* makes good, wherein we read that they acknowledged the like fealty to *David* his son, and *Lhwelyn* the last Prince. But as concerning the unkind dealing of *Griff: ap Conan* with *Gr: ap Rees*, and *Gr: ap Conan's* going to the King of *England*, I cannot see how that deserves an answer as an Argument for the sovereignty in the Princes of *Southwales*. Lastly you affirme that the *Lord Rees* surrendred his title to the principality of *Wales* to the King of *England*: which seems unto me most improbable, considering he would not voluntarily depose himself of such royall prebeminence and sovereignty, without he were brought to such extremity that there were no other remedy; whereas it is evident that the *Lord Rees* was in great favour with King *Henry the second* at the time you mention, and had been for many years before; witnesseth the Office of being *Justice of Southwales*, which the King had given him three years before that peace at *Glocester*, as the book of *Conwey* mentioneth: then also that he brought to the King's peace at *Glocester* no lords of *Northwales* or *Powis*, but few of *Southwales*, such as had formerly offended the King; whereby it appears that his said resignation, if there were any such, extended no farther then his title of *Southwales* only, and yet in regard that all the *English writers* do terme and stile the said *Lord Rees* King of *Southwales*, even to the last period of his life, I cannot readily believe that there was any such surrender made, untill the same do appear by some Authentick record.

The

The eighth Argument.

That the Princes of *Northwales* (though some late writers of those parts call them Princes and Kings of *Wales*) did not write themselves so, nor were taken to be so in their time, when there was fit occasion to set forth their title. But ever since the conquering of *Rees ap Theodor* they did acknowledge this title from the Kings of *England*, as may appear by the said submissions and transactions between the kings of *England* and the Princes of *Northwales*, from the death of *Rees ap Theodor* to the death of *Llewelyn* the last prince, even as they are related by the writers of *Northwales*. And which maketh it more evident, when the *Pope* did absolve *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth* from his oath of obedience made to King *John*, and *David ap Llewelyn* from his oath of obedience made to King *Henry* the third, he gave them the title of Princes of *Northwales* only, whereas both the Princes would have sought, and the *Pope* would have yielded them the title of Princes of *Wales*, (in that case especially for the larger extent of their absolutions) if there had been ground for it. Likewise it appeareth by the excommunication of *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, when as he persisted in action against King *John*, after the *Pope* had made his end with the King, that the *Pope* stiled him Prince of *Northwales* only: and the colour that those writers do take to terme them of *Northwales* Princes of *Wales* was, for that after the subduing of *Rees ap Theodor*, the people of *Wales* had no other in their distresses to resort unto for protection but the Princes of *Northwales*. And in that respect, and not otherwise, there being then no Princes of *Southwales*, *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth* Prince of *Northwales* being incited by the *Pope* and *Barons* against King *John*, did assume a command in most parts of *Wales*: but it ceased in short time, and he submitted himselfe and his country to King *Henry* the third.

The Answer.

IT is certain, that the Princes of *Northwales*, howsoever they did lay down their titles, were alwaies reputed and taken to be the sovereign Kings of *Britaine*, & Princes of *Wales*, for *Caradoc, Lan-*

Idwal in Glamorganshire speaking of *Anwrd* prince of Northwales, gives him the title and honour of King of the Brittaines, and chief King of Wales, as is manifest in the ancient copies of his History. *Idwal* Vael his son is called by *William Malmesbury* and others, *Rex omnium Walensium*. The same stile, or the like in effect, *Caradocus* attributeth unto the sons of *Idwal*, *Hewel ap Ieuf*, *Meridith ap Owen*, and *Bled-dyn ap Cynvyn*, Princes of Northwales. *Trabayarn ap Caradoc* is called King of Wales by *George Owen Harry*, a Gentleman of Southwales. *Griff*: ap *Conan*, whom *Mr. Camden* calleth princeps Wallie, was acknowledged by *Rees ap Theodor* himself to be *Brenhin Brenkinedh Cymru*, that is, King of the Kings of Wales, as the Author of *Griffiths* life averreth; whereby it clearly appears, that the said *Rees* prince of Southwales pretended no right to the Sovereignty of Wales. And *Caradocus* also saith that *Griff*: ap *Conan* prince of Northwales was *penna brenhin ar aubiffynnor a thangueseabwr Cymru* all: that is, the chiefest King, defender, and peace-maker of all Wales. *Leoline* the great also is by *Mathew Paris*, *Mat. Westminster*, *Polidor*, and all our British Antiquities termed prince of Wales, and sometimes king of Wales, as in an old British Ode dedicated to *Llewelyn*, by one *Enequwan*, a Bard of that age, is extant, wherein he is called *Gwir frenhin Cymru*, that is, the true or naturall king of Wales. And *David Benvras* a Bard of great estimation in his time, in the funerall Elegy of *David Llewelyn's* son, calleth him *mak brenhin Cymru*, that is, the son of the king of Wales. In like manner Prince *David*, and *Leoline the last* are termed most commonly Princes of Wales by all Authors. And here I may not passe how that our great Antiquary *Mr. Stedden* in his notes upon *Msi. Drakon his Poljebion*, gives our Princes from *Anwrd* to the last prince the name and title of prince of Wales: adding withall, that after the division among *Roderic Mawr's* sons, the principality was chiefly in Northwales, and the rest as tributaries to the Prince of that part. Seeing therefore that the princes of Northwales, even from *Roderic's* time to *Llewelyn ap Griffith*, were reputed and taken to be the undoubted Princes and Kings of Wales, I cannot be induced to change my opinion upon bare pretences, be they never so specious. Furthermore it is confessed, that the Princes of Northwales did acknowledged as well the principality of Wales, as the title thereof to the

kings of England, yet not only after the death of Rees ap Theodor: but many hundred years before, as it appears by tribute paid by our Princes unto the kings of England in acknowledgment thereof: for in the dayes of the old Britains; *Tair salath* (as we find in an old British Manuscript, and in the British Triades) *a dheleidy dala wrth gorah Lundain, un ym Henrhyn Rhionjdhyn Gogledd, an ail daleith yn Aberffraw, ar drydedd yn Gerniwr*: that is, three Coronets ought to be held of the Crowns of London, the one was the Crown or Coronet of Powys and Rhionjdd in the North, the second was of Aberffraw, and the third that of Carmarthen. And touching the Pope's absolution of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth from an oath of obedience to the king of England, by filling him Prince of Northwales: whence you infer, that he was not Sovereign of any other part, else the Pope would have given it him in his title; it concerns you, before you make good your conceit herein, to propose unto us the Pope's own words in the Original; and then to shew your self to be of his Counsell; that when he named Northwales the chiefest seat, you might be sure he did thereby intend to take away the Sovereignty over the rest of Wales. And that Northwales exceeded Southwales in respect of supremacy, you may be easily convinc'd, if you look back into those times when the Britains lost the crowns and scepter of London, (as we find in *Præf. T. ad.* being an ancient MS. containing the *additions* of the Britains;) Then by a general assembly of the men of Gwynedd, Powys, Deheubarth, Ebor, Adarnawd, and Ssithyr; it was ordain'd, that Aberffraw in Northwales should be the chiefest seat, and the chiefest of the sovereignty King of all the British Princes. And King Howell Dda in his Laws mentioneth a *priskat* due to the king of Northwales from the kings of Southwales and Rhonjdd whereby, and by the inquisition before specified, it is apparent, that the title of Aberffraw or Northwales in effect was *supremacy* and *dominion* as the title of all Wales.

The third Argument

IF King Edward the first of England had not accounted Wales to be his by the conquest of Rees ap Theodor, he might have assumed against Llewelyn ap Gruff the title of *Norman* his subject in the right

of *Gwladis* his wife, sole sister and heir of *David ap Llewelyn*, the last lawfull prince of *Northwales*, (for *Griffith ap Llewelyn* his eldest Brother, father to *Llewelyn* the last Prince, was base born:) But neither did the King think good to borrow that title; nor did the *Mortimers* (albeit they were raised to be *Earls of March*, and becoming the strongest subjects in alliances and kindreds, augmented the same by marrying the sole daughter and heir of the *Duke of Clarence*, whereby they had after the crown of *England*) ever claime the principality of *Wales*, yea though they were in disgrace with the state of *England*, and were in action against *Henry* the fourth; which such mighty persons would hardly have omitted, if the house of *Northwales* had had good right to the principality of *Wales*. Neither would the policy of the State of *England* have suffered the rising of that house, which by an undoubted right to *Wales*, might have bereaved them thereof, yet such right as they had is now lawfully vested in the crown by king *Edward* the fourth, as heir to *Mortimer*.

The Answer.

I T appeareth in the *state of Ruthlan*, that *Edward* 1. did not claime or account the principality of *Wales* to be his by the overthrow of *Rees ap Theodor*, for he assumes the glory of the conquest of *Wales* to himself, as is manifest before in my answer to the 6. Argument, whereunto for your better satisfaction in this point I remit you. And the reason that he borrowed not the title of *Mortimer* his subject, (although it be a thing seldome or never heard of, that the titles of Kingdomes should be borrowed or lent,) and that his said subject himself did not seize upon the said principality from *Leolin* the last, as his right by inheritance, was; because that *Mortimer* had no right thereunto: for *Gwladis* his wife was the sole sister of *Griffith*, the eldest son of *Llewelyn* the great, who left behind him diverse children; and not of *David*; according to your allegation: as by most strong arguments and ancient authority shall appear, I doubt not; but to your full satisfaction. And first of all *Ralph Lord Mortimer* of *Wigmore* the husband of *Gwladis* did procure with all his might the deliverance of *Griffith* out of his Brother *David's* prison, and also labour for

his installment in the *principality of Wales*, as is apparent in *Mathew Paris*, which he would never have done, if his wife had been the sole sister and heir of *David*; for by the raising of *Griffith* to the throne of *Wales*, he should not only depose *David*, but also most indiscreetly exclude himself from being heir apparent to the *principality of Wales*, and next to rule after *David*, who had no issue. Secondly, the *Lord Mortimer*, after the death of *prince David*, made no claime to the *principality*, which in no wise he would have omitted, if he had been his heir apparent, and the *king of England's* nephew, as you pretend, who for the recovery of his right would minister unto him sufficient aid both in men and money. But this neglect intailibly denoteth, that *Gwladus* with her posterity was not the heir of *David*, seeing that *Leoline* held that peaceably with the consent of the King. And in an old book written above 200-years ago, I found the pedigree of *Richard Duke of York*, father of *king Edward the 4.* wherein the *Duke's* descent is first brought to the *Mortimers* by *Anne* his Mother, and from the *Mortimers* to the *Princes of Wales* by the said *Gwladus*, as being sister and heir of *Griffith* and not of *David*, even thus: *Leolinus fuit princeps Wallie, & pater Gladys ddu, heres suus fuit Griffinus princeps Wallie, qui habuit quatuor filios, Lewelinum (ille fuit ultimus princeps Wallie,) Owinnm, David, & Rodri, qui decesserunt sine heredibus: ideo revertamur ad Gladys Ddu, quam Radulphus Mortimer duxit in uxorem. Lewelyn was Prince of Wales, and the father of Gladys ddu; his heir was Griffith Prince of Wales, who had 4. sons, viz. Lewelyn the last Prince of Wales, Owen, David, and Rodri, who dyed without heirs; therefore let us come back again to Gladys ddu, whom Ralph Mortimer married. Hereby it appeareth that Griffith was Lewelyn ap Iorwerth's son & heir, & therefore born in Wedlock, & that his four sons leaving no Heirs (as that Author saith,) the right of the *principality* descended to the posterity of *Gwladus*, which directly proveth she was sister of the whole bloud to *Griffith*, and not to *David*, of whom the Author maketh no mention at all; accounting him and his sisters (some of whose posterity live at this day) no better then Bastards. Thirdly our ancient books of pedigrees do with one consent affirme that the children of *Leoline ap Ior* were *Griffith* and *Gwladus ddu*, whose mother was *Tanglwyst* the daughter of *Lhonorarch goch of Ror*. *David Prince of Wales,**

Wales, Gwenthiant, Angharad, and Marvred, whose Mother was Joan, the Daughter of King John. The *white book of Hereges*, a very fair and ancient parchment Manuscript, saith, that prince Llewelyn wedded one Tanglwyst the daughter of Llowarch Lord of Anglesey, and begat by her Griff, and Gwladys de. Gwilym Tew that flourished in the daies of Henry 6. hath written that Leolin ap Iorwerth begat Gwladus ddu upon the daughter of Llowarch goch, which was the mother of Griff. And last of all I find it noted, in an old manuscript thus *Levelinus Gertasii filius princeps Wallia, primo desponsavit Tanglwyst filiam Llowarch Vychan, de qua genuit Griffith & Gwladus ddu quondam uxorem Radulphi de Mortuomari, post mortem dicta Tanglwyst idem Llewelynus desponsavit Joannam filiam Johannis regis Anglia, de qua genuit David principem, & Gwenthiant uxorem Jo: Lacie comitis Lincolnia, & Angharad primo desponsata Johanni de Breweys domino de Brechom; post ejus decessum desponsata fuit Malgoni Vachan ap Malgon ap Reer, & ex eadem uxore genuit filiam qua maritata est Johanni Scotico comiti Cestria qui fuit nepos Ranulphi comitis Cestria ex parte sororis sui.* Here is (you see) most infallible proof, that Gwladus was not the sole sister and heir of David, but the only sister of Griffith. (Llewelyn the great his eldest son) who by equity should have succeeded his father in the principality of Wales, although you and others do averre that he was a Bastard, but how truly. I appeale to the judgment of impartiall Antiquaries: for do but equally consider whether a Bastard would offer to disquiet his father and Prince, because he intended that his lawfull heir should succeed him in his dominions, or presume to bandy with the legitimate heir for his due inheritance; or whether the King of England would maintaine such an execrable quarrell against his (naturall) nephew, or the Lords of Wales against their true & legitimate prince in a Bastard's behalf. These circumstances might satisfy, that Griffith was not only born in wedlock, but also the right & proper prince of Wales by inheritance. Consider likewise how Llewelyn called all the Lords and Barons of Wales before him to *Trafalgar*, and caused them to swear to be faithfull subjects, and to do homage to David his son, and that long before his death; which had been needlesse and frivolous, if David had been his heir, and Griff: his bastard: consider I say, how that Henry the third immediately after the death of Griffith, assuming;

the title of his said prisoner into his own hands, intitled his eldest son *Edw.* to the principality of *Wales*, accounting *David* no lawfull prince; as it appears thereby: yea and how, that neither the *Bisops*, Lords of *Brechinock*, *Lacies* Earls of *Lincoln*, nor any other that married *Prince David*s sisters of the whole blood, pretended any right to the principality of *Wales* after his death, though he left no issue of his body to survive him, which such mighty persons would hardly have omitted, if *David* had been the true heir of *Leoline* the great, and lawfull prince of *Wales*. Furthermore *David Benyon* in a funerall Elegy to *Llewelyn* and his two sons, gives them in generall the name of *Princes*, and prefers *Griff* before *David*. Whereupon I do conclude, that if *Griff* had been a bastard, in all likelihood the *Bard* would not presume to prefer him before *David*, being legitimate; neither have given him the title of *Prince*, but that it was his Birth-right. Again *Polydor Virgil* in the 16. booke of his *History of England*, deposeth that *Griff* was his fathers lawfull heir, and that *David* was an usurper of the principality upheld by the King of *England*s favour in these words. *Id temporis Llewelinus Wallie princeps à vita migravit, deinde inter Gruffinum & David filias ejus de principatu discipat um est; quem ad ultimum David, estis mox natus, favento Henrico, assecutus est:* and a little after: *multas Wallorum miserebat casus Griffini, qui per prodicionem avitis principatu fraudatus in carcere esset; insidebatque in illorum animis tanti facinoris memoria.* Adde hereunto how *Leolinus Gervasi* filius desponsavit *Tangwist*, de qua genuit *Griffith*, as I said before: adde I say the testimony of the booke of *Hergest* before mentioned, with the which agrees *John Griff*, *Eyton*, an Author of above an hundred and fifty years antiquity. Here I might cite the opinion of *Guttun Owen* and the *Bards*, who with one consent do testify, that *Gr* was his fathers eldest son and heir apparent, whose testimonies, seeing their function was nothing else but truly to decare the famous deeds and true pedegrees of the *Princes* and *Nobility* of *Wales*, I hold it good reason that we follow and preferre before the traditions of Strangers, who most commonly being enemies to the *Welshmen* were carelesse of their affaires, and therefore apt to erre in relating their histories, especially since they looked upon it as their interest to conceale or extenuate, rather then declare their glory. And the Translators of the *Chronicle* of *Wales*, tracing their

steps

Reps. and forgetting the *fidelity* of Translation, added at their pleasures, that *Griffith* was a Bastard, and that *Gwladus* was the sister of *David*; going besides the *old story* wherein you shall find no such matter. Also Bastards by the *Laws of Howell Dha* were excluded from any share of Inheritance with their Brethren legitimate, but *Gruff*; as Dr. *Powell* out of *Math. Paris* relateth, claimed a portion of his fathers inheritance according to the customes of *Wales*, even so much as of right ought to appertain unto him. Which words do insinuate that he was ready to prove his Father and Mothers marriage lawfully consummated. And *David* confesseth a portion due to his Brother, when in the third article of his submission to *H. 3.* he saith, Item *I, and the said Griffith, and witber of us, shall hold our portions of land of our said Sov. veraign Lord the King in capite*. Lastly, the Bastards of the Princes of *Wales* were not tolerated to bear their fathers Arms, and if permitted, yet not without difference, as may be observed in the Coats of *Madoc* the son of *Gwenwynwyn* Lord of *Powis*, *David* goch the son of *David* Lord of *Denbigh* and *Fraddsham*; *Enion* and *Cymric* twinnes, the sons of *Mad. ap. Myrd*; Prince of *Powis*, and *Tegwared* *y bair wen* being the Bastard of Prince *Llywelyn ap. Iorwerth* had therefore a peculiar Coat of Arms given him and his posterity, to wit. *Ar. a chevron S. charged with 3. Mulletts pierced*: But *Griffith* father of *Llywelyn* the last Prince, gave his fathers Coat without any change or difference at all, and so did his progeny after him, which proveth that he was lawfully born. These reasons and testimonies do perswade me to think that *Griffith* was unworthily defamed of Bastardy, and defeated of his Birthright under that pretence. But in regard herein I thwart the judgment of good Antiquaries both ancient and modern, I leave the matter to a farther debate.

The tenth Argument.

THE late writers of *Northwales* cannot agree whether *Mervyn* or *Anarawd* were elder. Mr. *Humphry Lloyd* following *Giraldus*, preferreth *Mervyn*, Doctor *Powell*, *Anarawd*. How can they then fitly decide this point, or conclude against *Gadeleh* to be the eldest? It is probable that *Giraldus* living in *Henry 2ds.* time, being a native of *Wales*,

VVales, and best seen of any (as his works do shew) in the *antiquities* thereof, and living in a time when there were more store of them then now are, or have been in this last age, and otherwise a great learned man and Bishop of St. *David*, had as good grounds and helps to prove for *Mervyn*, as any later writer for *Anarawd*. Therefore upon this doubt and uncertainty, which of these two were elder, it is safest for the truth to agree upon to good authorities and grounds of reasons for *Cadelb* to be the eldest, which is confirmed also by the authentick Authority of a countrey man of *Northwales*, *David Nannmor*, the famous *Bard*, who was and still is of such estimation in *Northwales*, as none will contradict any thing written by him. Neither would he have declared the truth so plainly, if there had been any doubt in the matter. And thus he writeth:

Tri meib i Rodri mewn tremyn i keid

Cadelb, Neraud, Mervyn.

Rhannodh effyr lwn oedh vn

Rhodbiad boll Kymry rhydbyn.

Rhannodh a gadodh er gwelb, dawn, yffidh

Dinefwr i Gadelb

Imab hynaf oi stafellb

Pennaf o wyr pwyen welb.

Neraud wr gwaif aud dan go, yn Gfan

A gafas Aberffro

Maj dayni Dwn yno

Fe biani bryman ey bro.

Gwir gwir a dhojdyr i dbyn, paen ifank

Powy: casaf Mervyn

Lhymar modh yr adroddhyn

Ytreir rhwyng y trywyr hyn.

In English thus.

Three sons we find were unto *Roderi*,
VVhom *Cadelb*, *Neraud*, *Mervyn* men do call,

Divide

Divide he did, that was a Monarchy
Of Cambria a guift between them all.

Divide and leave for best (O justly donet)
Discover unto Cadelb did he then
Within his bower the first begotten son,
(And who so good) the chiefeft of the men.

And courteous Anarawd did poffesse
Aberffro for his portion, mark you this;
Whom God I pray with goodnesse all to blesse.
Both hills and dales the same his own it is.

The tale is true, yea, true it came to paffe,
That Powis should young Mervyn's portion be,
And thus for truth the very manner was,
How all divided stood between them three.

The Answer..

I cannot think it reason from the doubt of Northwales writers whether Anarawd or Mervyn were the eldest son of Roderic the great, to conclude Cadelb to be the eldest; especially seeing neither our writers nor any else do make any thing for Cadelb, and also that all in generall do agree, that the King of Northwales, howsoever he were called, was the eldest of the Brethren. Not only Dr. Powel, but a multitude of most ancient writers do prefer Anarawd to the Kingdome of Northwales, as our ancient Bards and writers of Genealogies; *Illorum enim (saith Dr. Powel) constans assertio est Anaratum primogenitum principem fuisse Venetoria.* The ancient Author of Griffith ap Conan's life, brings the pedegree of the said Griffith lineally to Anarawd. Meilir Brydyb (that flourished in William the Conqueror's time) averres the said Griffith to be descended of Anarawd. Caradoos Lancarvanensis affirms that Anarawd the eldest son of Roderic the great was King of Northwales. And last of all Ninnius the old British writer and Disciple of Elydogus, who lived in the daies of Roderic and his children, saith thus; *Anarawgt rex Monia (i.e.) Môn, qui regis modo regnum*

Wenedocia regionis (i.) *Gweinedb*. Therefore *Giraldus Cambrensis* with his followers *Leyland* and *Libwyd*, must needs be in an error when he gives his voice for *Mervyn*. And truly *Giraldus Cambrensis*, though in antiquity he were most expert and skilfull, yet seems not a little to be ignorant of the true history of *Roderic* the great and his children: for besides the former error in the 2d chapter of his book, intituled, *Descriptio Cambriae*, he avers that the said *Roderic* was the cause of the division of *Wales* into the three kingdomes of *Northwales*, *Southwales*, and *Powis*, whereas it is apparent, that the said three kingdomes had their severall Kings many years before his birth, as Dr. *Powel* most truly proveth in his notes upon the said chapter: then also he saith, that *Cadelb*, to whom *Roderic* had given *Southwales* for his portion, survived *Anarawd* and *Mervyn*, whereby he got the monarchy of all *Wales*. *Cadelb* (saith he) *premortuus fratribus totius Wallie monarchiam obtinuit*. And *Caradoc* a more ancient writer testifieth, that *Cadelb* died 6. years before *Anarawd*, with whom agreeth your countryman *George Owen Harry*, and another most ancient *British Chronologer* which beginneth thus, *Oes Gwrtheyrn Gorthenen* &c. mentioned by *St. John Prise*, p. 121. *defensionis Britannice historia*. Lastly, he saith that *Cadelb's* successors even to *Thredor* enjoyed the said monarchy, whereas it is clear that diverse of the line of *Anarawd* ruled the Kingdome of *Northwales* during that time: so that we cannot but conclude *Giraldus* to be in a grosse error. And as to the testimony of *David Nanmor*, on whom relies your whole hope for *Cadelb's* sovereignty, it is answered, that his Authority (had it been as you make it to be, which shall appear to be far otherwise, especially in so ancient a matter as we now handle, being favoured or strengthened by no antiquity, and himselfe not flourishing before the middle of the reign of *Henry the sixth*, would have been too weak to encounter not only Dr. *Powel*, but a multitude of most ancient Authors, well seen in antiquity, that maintain the contrary: I cannot be perswaded that he was ever of that opinion, nor that those verses you are pleased to lay to him are his. They do not favor of the skill of the meanest Bard, much lesse of *Nanmor*, that sometimes contended with *David ap Edmwnd* for the chair at the *Eisteddfod* in *Carmarthen*, and by his *Composur*, his *Gorhestion*, *Cynyddan*, *Odes* and *Epigramms*, is well knowne

to surpasse most men of his time in Poeticall science. They have faul-
 as to the measures in 4. severall places, such as our *Bards* terme *Twyll*
ysghanedd and *Twyll odd*, which by the teachers of the faculty, so wis
 Dr. David du of Heradric, *Edryn dafod*, *Ans*, *Eugen yffirach*, and di-
 vers others have been damned for schismes and solacismes in the art,
 and so forbid to be used. It being so as to the Poetry, the History may
 justly be suspected of mistakes, it not of forgery, in order to the pro-
 moting of a small designe. And there are mistakes in the history: for
Roderic was not the divider of *Wales*, and *Cadell* is denyed by all wri-
 ters to be the eldest of the 3. Brethren: nor was the K. of *Sherrfwa*
 name *Nerawd*, but *Anarawd*. And in the 5th. and last *Stranza*, which
 you forbear the mention of, there is a manifest error; for therein it is
 said, that *Roderic* made his division between his 3. sons A.D. 811. long
 before his reign, and probably before he was born; for *Gravaden* saith
 he began his reign A. 843. and his father *Merwyn freth* but in the
 year 817. at which time Prince *Covan Tindarbry* dyed.

The eleventh Argument.

THESE authorities and reasons are delivered simply to heat out the
 the truth of this point in question, and chiefly out of a desire to
 clear the way for a *perfect History of Wales*, if any shall undertake it,
 which otherwise cannot be: for besides this evidence of the *soveraigni-*
ty of the Prince of *Southwales* (where there never failed a lawfull prince
 to govern untill the period thereof, by the fatal overthrow of the last
 and worthy prince, Prince *Rees ap Theodor*) it seems not fit to regis-
 ter the acts of *Wales* for a great part of 200. years under usurpers.
 And therefore it is desired that if any shall be disposed to answer here-
 unto, or to give reasons for maintaining their allegation, it be done
 without prejudice or partiality, and that they range not out of the
 limits of the question.

The Answer.

WHEREAS you alledge that your authorities and reasons are de-
 livered simply to heat out the truth of the point in question,
 I cannot conceive for in regard you have not been pleased to be so

particular in your quotation of Authors, as could be desired. And whereas you think it not fit to register the acts of *Wales* under Usurpers, it seems you would deprive your reader of a perfect history, and conceale such passages which are as requisite to be known, as the lawfull proceedings. In that a history (how rugged soever, the passages thereof may be) ought to testify the truth by the consent of times, and immediate succession of Princes; otherwise that will appear like a broken chaine, wanting some necessary links to unite the whole; neither will man's desire be satisfied, untill it receive instruction, who were, and who were not Usurpers, and how their government differed, or whether Usurpers being really possessed of the Crown, did not use the same jurisdiction which belonged unto the right heir: and withall tis far more fit & decent that the acts of *Wales* should be registered under the name of those *Usurpers* of *Northwales*, in regard that all *Wales* was subject to the crown thereof, then under the princes of *Southwales*, (who were, as I said, their subjects & tributaries,) though the lawfull heirs of *Cadellb.* And in my judgment you cannot so confidently excuse your *Southwales* government from usurpation for that time, seeing *Rotherch ap Iestyn*, and others, are acknowledged to be *Usurpers* within the compasse of the time limited. You may be further convinced touching the truth of our allegation, if you do but indifferently weigh the evident proofs that follow upon these grounds. First how the sovereignty continued in *Northwales* before the daies of *Roderic the great*. Secondly, how *Anarawd* Prince of *Northwales* was *Roderic's* eldest son. And lastly how the Princes of *Southwales* and *Powys* paid tribute to the Prince of *Northwales*. To the first, if you look back into the times before *Roderic's* raigne, you must confesse *Cadwaladr* the *thawbir* King of *Northwales* was chiefest of the four that bare swords before *Arthur* at the triumphant feast of *Caerleon* (of which number, as *Galfridus Monemutensis* affirms, the King of *Southwales* was one;) or you must deny the testimony of your *George Owen Harvy*, pag. 26. Then afterwards when the *Britains* wanted a supreme government, there was a generall meeting had for the election of a King, and a continuall supply was had from the Princes of *Northwales*, as first it may appear, when (after the death of *Vortiporius*, whom we call *Gwerthegyr*) the *Britains* met at *Frith Maelgwn*, as may be seen

In those ancient British Laws, intituled *Præf ymad, Lhe y cassas Mael-gwyn* vot yn pennaf brenhin, ac *Aberffraw* yn pen llysoedd, a *Jarlth Maby-raval*, a *Jarlth Dinewr*, a *Jarlth Caerlthon y danaw ynten*: which may be thus Englished. Where it was ordained, that *Malgwn* (Prince of *Northwales*) should be the chiefest or sovereign King, and *Aberffraw* in *Northwales* the sovereign seat of the *Britains*, and that the *Earls of Powis, Southwales, and Caerlbeon* should be under him and obey him. And after that, when the Princes of *Southwales, Powis, and Cornwall* after the battell of *Bangor*, met at *Chester*, where with the consent of all those Princes, *Cadvan* Prince of *Northwales* was made King of *Britaine*; after him succeeded in their own right *Cadwalbon* his son, and *Cadwalader* his grandchild: at which time the *Britains* lost the sovereignty of the whole Isle, as *Galfredus* saith. And yet *Roderic Adolwynoc* Prince of *Northwales*, the Grandchild of *Cadwalader* was obeyed by all the *British* Princes as their supreme and sovereign Prince, and called also King of the *Britains* according to all Authors; and so was his son *Conan Tindaethwy*; and after him *Mertyn Vrych* King of *Man*, who in the right of his wife *Essyllt*, *Conan's* daughter, was sole Prince of all *Wales*, as your own *George Owen Harry* and all other writers testify; and after them succeeded *Roderic the great* their son, who, as *Giraldus* saith, *toti Wallia præsidabat*. So then hitherto, that is 300 years before *Anarawd's* reign, it was not controverted who had the sovereignty; for it being most manifest, that the sovereignty of *Wales* remained in *Northwales*, it may perswade an indifferent Reader that *Roderic* would not alter the course of the Sovereignty, being a matter of that ancient continuance, especially when it must be confessed, that the Prince of *Northwales* was eldest son and heir apparent to his father *Roderic*, as both old and late writers do with one consent confesse: of which (for brevities sake) I will make choice but of few, but such as are reputed to be of best credit and insight in Antiquity, to assist me with their testimonies. And first of all *Dr. Pomet* in his notes upon *Giraldus*; and additions to *Caradocus*, proveth that *Anarawd* was the eldest son of *Roderic the great*, and sayth farther, that he was the right heir of *Cadwalader*, as is evident by all histories. *Sr. John Prise*, a *Southwales* Gentleman, in his description of *Gambria*, saith that *Rodericus magnus* King of *Wales* gave *Northwales*

is the chiefest part to his eldest son *Humphry Lloyd* in his *Breviary of Britain*, and so *Layland* in his notes upon his book intituled *Gmabliacon Edwardi principis*, and the book of *Herest* written in the dayes of *Ed. 4.* averre, that *Roderic* gave *Northwales* to his eldest son, adding withall, that *Cadell* (who had *Somersetwales*) was the third son. *Cynbelw brydydd mawr*, that is, *Cynbelw the great poet*, who flourished in the dayes of *Henry the second King of England*, writeth thus:

I Rodri mawr vawr vilwriaeth Gynro

Irai Gynris belacth

A Gwynidh nwn gynnydh actb

I vab hynaf y pennacth.

Caradocus Lancarvanensis forementioned, who wrot in the dayes of *Henry the first* testifies in some copies of his *Annals*, that *Roderic* had by his wife *Angharad* diverse sons, as *Anarawd* his eldest son, to whom he gave *Aberffraw* with *Northwales*. Our old books of pedigree written on parchment above 400 years ago, do attribute the seniority of birth to *Anarawd* the son of *Roderic the great*, and not to *Cadell*. To conclude, *Affer Menevensis*, Bishop of *St. Davids*, who flourished even in the dayes of the sons of *Roderic*, saith in the acts of King *Alfred*, that *Anarawd filius Rotri cum suis fratribus ad presentem amicitiam Northanorū hynbriorum deserens, de qua nullum bonum nisi damnum habuerat, amicitiam Alfredi regis studiose requirens, ad presentiam illius advenit, cumq; à rege honorifice receptus esset, Et ad manum Episcopi in filium confirmatus acceptus maximisq; donis ditatus, regis dominio cum omnibus suis eadem conditione subditis, ut in omnibus regia voluntate se obediens esset, sicut *Ethored cum Mercis*. Here your countryman gives our *Anarawd* a superiority over his brethren, esteeming them no otherwise then his inferiors and subjects, as plainly it appears, when he saith, that King *Alfred* (of all the brethren) honoured, enriched with great gifts, and entered into league with *Anarawd* only. This testimony with the rest is sufficient to prove, that *Anarawd* Prince of *Northwales* was the eldest son of *Roderic the great*, and therefore sovereign King of the *Britains*, which *Merddin Silvestri* 300 years before *Anarawd's* birth foretold, to wit, that he should be supreme prince of the *Britains* after his father *Roderic*. Now time calleth me to come to my last argument,*

which

Which is, that the Princes of *Southwales* and *Powis* payed a tribute to the Prince of *Northwales*. Wherein (to deale briefly) I will not trouble you here with the testimony of our great Antiquary Mr. *Selden* before mentioned in my Answer to your 8. Argument; nor with the authorities of our other late writers, but will content my selfe with the ancient laws of our *British* Princes, where thus we read: *Try mychdeyrn dyle doc a dhyln gwladychu Cymru oll dan ei theroyneu, brenin Aberffraw, arglwydd Dinefwr, a hwn Mathraval, Tri phrif llys arbenig sydd i'r tri theyrn hyn yn eiddadynen brenniawl ydhynt. Da yw Aberffraw yngwymdd, Dyneuwr yny Deben, a Mathraval wynva ym Powys: a dyma mai y desparthwyd eu tŷrnas an hwynt yn dair rhan, vn bis uchafiaeth ar y dhwyr, nis amgen uoc Aberffraw pie y benedvigiaeth. Teir mychdeyrn dhytŷce adhytŷir o Gymru oll, Aberffraw gan y dhwyrŷe hynny adhyln, vn o Dinefwr, sef yw bonno mitget, pedair tanelb o vel a gaffei pedair mwybob tanelb; dwy grenneit ymbob mu, lhwyrth de iwr ar droffol ym hob gren: Peillget o Wynva a ymddh hwnw befyd.* Thus Englished. *Three lawfull Kings ought to rule all Wales under its bounds, the King of Aberffraw in Northwales, the Lord of Dinefwr, and this of Mathraval: these three Princes have three principall courts for their Princely dwellings, Aberffraw in Northwales, Dinefwr in Southwales, and Mathraval wynva in Powis. Thus their Dominions were divided into three parts, one hath a sovereignty over the other two, viz. Aberffraw hath the Primacy. Three princely Tributs are due our of all Wales, whereof Aberffraw ought to have from those two seats, one from Dinefwr, which is a tribute of honey, viz. 4. tunns of Honey, every tun containing 4. min, every tun 4. grens, every gren as much as two men could carry between them on a lever: the other is the like quantity of flower, of Mathraval wynva.* This I hold sufficient proof that that *Southwales* and *Powis* were tributaries to *Northwales*: and this should suffice me for this time, had not *Homel Dha* a prince of *Southwales* and the son of *Cadell* decreed in his *Laws*, that as the King of *Northwales* was to pay a tribute to the King of *London*, so should all the Kings of *Wales* pay tribute to the King of *Northwales*. *LXXIII libras est mychdeyrn dyled quod rex Aberffraw reddere debet regi Londonie semel cum acceperis terram suam ab eo: postea uero omnes reges Wallie debent terram suam ab eo accipere, & e. a rege Aberffraw, & illi reddere maiore d. desceit & ab eodem post eorum mor-*

Item, & verbum illius, verbum est super omnes reges, & nullius verbum est super ipsum: that is to say, sixty three pounds is the Monarchicall tribute, which the *King of Aberfrav* ought to the *King of London* when once he hath received his lands of him: afterwards all the *Kings of Wales* ought to take their lands of him, that is, of the *King of Aberfrav*, and to pay him a reliefe after their death. And his law is a law over the *Kings*, and no mans law is over him. So saith *Howel Dda*.

The weight of these reasons makes me omit diverse others, and many conjectures, together with the vulgar opinion; for seeing before *Roderic's* time the case is made out by good proofs, and that in *Roderic* and his sons times, and their posterity, it is still strengthened with the authorities of both *Southwales* and *Northwales* new and old writers, I see no reason why you should not conclude with me, That the *Princes of Northwales* had the sovereignty over all *Wales*.

THE END



A Mistake touching the Pedegree of the Earl of CARBERY corrected.

Finding a mistake in a book lately printed, called *Cambria triumphans*, touching the Pedegree of the right honourable the *Earl of Carbery*, the *Author* making him to be descended from *Gwaethvoed of Cardigan*, whereas indeed *Gwaethvoed of Powis* was his Ancestor, I thought I should be wanting to my duty to that Noble person and the truth, if I did not, when I had an opportunity, endeavour (what lay in me) the rectifying of it.

The Gentleman the *Author* I do very much respect and honour for his love expressed to our *Country* in his worthy pains to maintain the honour of it; and do not so much impute the mistake to him, being a Stranger, as to our late unskillfull *Recorders of Genealogies*, who by reason of their not examining things thoroughly, and not studying *Chronology*

ology better, have been the occasion of his Error.

In their writings they deliver to posterity, that *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan* was the Father of *Gwerthmawr*, the Grandfather of *Blethyn ap Cynvyn*, King of *Wales*, the *Earl's* Ancestor, but without any grounds for it, as I shall make it to appear, by shewing 1. That there were two *Gwaithbods*; 2ly, that *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan* could not be the great Grandfather of *Blethyn ap Cynvyn*, and so not the *Earl of Caerborg's* Ancestor.

That there were two *Gwaithbods* our *booke* of *Pearsons* assure us, which make often mention both of *Gwaithbod vawr* of *Powis*, and of *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan*. They are recorded as distinct persons, the one being styled of *Powis*, the other of *Cardigan*, for distinction's sake. And they appear further to be distinct by their distinct Coates of Arms, and distinct Pedegrees: he of *Powis* beareth vert a *Lyon rampant* A. adorned head, feet and saile; the other, Or a *Lyon rampant* regardant S. langued and armed G. And for their Pedegrees, books written about 400 years ago, say that *Gwaithbod* of *Powis* was the son of *Gwrhyd* ap *Caradoc* ap *Llew Llan ddaw* &c. to *Bili Mawr* (*Bellinau magnus*) Monarch of *Britann*, the father of King *Llew*, and of *Cassibula*, who was King when *Julius Caesar* first entered *Britaine*. And there are other books that derive the pedigree of *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan* to *Gwrthmawr* Lord of *Cantref Gwalod*, (to wit, that large Plaine extending itself between the Countyes of *Caerpharban*, *Cardigan*, and *Pembrok*, long since swallowed up by the Sea) thus, *Gwaithbod* ap *Eunydd*, as *Llew* is *Mawr* but faith, but others leaving out *Eunydd* say, he was the son of *Cassibula* ap *Paradoc* *Wysgyn* ap *Boron* ap *Eunydd*, and so to the said *Gwrthmawr*, and in a direct line from him to *Cassibula* *Wledig* King of the *North* and *Cambria*.

That *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan* could not be the great Grandfather of *Blethyn ap Cynvyn* &c. for *Blethyn* was neer of this *Gwaithbod's* age. *Caradoc* of *Lancarwan* in his history of *Wales* tells us, that *Blethyn* was floure A.D. 1073. being born, as may be conjectured, about 1023, supposing *Angus* ap *Prion* *Llewelyn* ap *Sisyll's* widow, who was floure A.D. 1004, to marry *Cynvyn* *Blethyn's* father 1022. Now *Gwaithbod* of *Cardigan* could not be antecedent to *Blethyn*, if so ancient, will appear, if we examine the 2d. booke, and 4th ch. of *Gwrthmawr*

Cambrensis his Itinerarium Cambriae; there we may find, that in the year 1188, when Baldwin Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* visited *Wales*, with *Giraldus* in his company, to persuade the *Welsh* to list themselves for the holy war against the *Saxons*; that there was a son of this *Gwaethvoed*'s (an aged man) then living, called *Bledyn*, a *Lay Abbot* of *Lanbadern vawr* in *Cardiganshire*, being a 115 years just after the death of *Bledyn ap Cynvyn*; therefore we must needs conclude this *Gwaethvoed* could not live long before *Bledyn*, and if he did live before him any time, he could not so long before him, as to be his Grandfather.

Besides, that *Gwaethvoed*, the *Earl of Carbery's* Ancestor, was a distinct person from *Gwaethvoed* of *Cardigan*, and far ancients, may from hence further be gathered, viz. that the generations from him to our time are more in number then the generations from *Gwaethvoed* of *Cardigan*, as appears by this instance, to wit, my Lord *Vaughan* the *Earl's* son is the 21th. generation from *Gwaethvoed* his Ancestor, whereas *Sr. Richard Price* of *Goverddan* Baronet, descended from *Gwaethvoed* of *Cardigan* my Lord's equal in age is but the 17th. in descent from that *Gwaethvoed*. Also we read in our books of one *Morvyn* daughter to *Tyrrddu* King of *Gwent* (now *Monmouthshire*) who lived in King *Athelstan's* time, A. D. 921. as *Rog. Hoveden* hath it recorded, that married one *Gwaethvoed*, which could not be that of *Cardigan*, who, as is said, having a son living 1188. cannot rationally be supposed to be born before the year 1000, or thereabouts, but may very well be that *Gwaethvoed* of *Powis*, the Ancestor of *Bledyn*; this *Gwaethvoed* might very well be *Bledyn's* great grandfather, there being a 100 years difference of time and above between them.

The Pedegree of the right honourable *Sr. RICHARD VANGHAN* *Earl of Carbery*, Lord Viscount *Malmesbury*, Baron of *Emlyn*, and Lord President of the *Marches of Wales*.

Gwaethvoed *Earl of Powis*, *Morvyn* da: & coheir of *Tyrrddu* King of *Gwent*,
Emrys *Lord of Powis*, *Neff* daughter of *Canal* ap *Brydwal*,
Emrys *Lord of Powis*, *Myrddin* Queen of *Wales*, da: & heir of *Myrddin*
Bledyn ap *Cynvyn* King of *Wales*, *Myrddin* da: & coheir of *Myrddin*
Myrddin ap *Bledyn* Prince of *Powis*, *Myrddin* da: of *Emlyn* (Goff.)

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